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THE  
MISFORTUNES  
OF  
G E N E V A;  
OR,  
A P I C T U R E  
OF  
THE CALAMITIES THAT THREATEN, IN  
THE PRESENT CRISIS, THE MOST  
MODERATE GOVERNMENTS OF  
EUROPE.

To which is Subjoined,  
The SPEECH of Counsellor NAVILLE before the *Revolutionary*  
*Tribunal*; and 'various ANECDOTES, never before  
published.

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## ERRATA.

- Page 4 line 11 and 12---for *by cowardly* read *cowardly by their*  
p. 14 line 3---for *voice* read *force*  
p. 16 line 19---for *conclusive* read *exclusive*  
ditto line 20---for *the* read *that*  
p. 34 line 2---for *offered it* read *offered to it*  
p. 39 near the end of the note---for *at least* read *at last*  
p. 50 line 13---for *his* read *their*  
p. 51 line 22---for *Folio* read *Fatio*  
p. 70 line 16---for *circumstance* read *cause*  
p. 71 line 11---for *uunanimity* read *unanimity*



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THE

MISFORTUNES OF GENEVA, &c.

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THE Republic of Geneva was not so guarded by her old constitution as not to be exposed to political convulsions. Her citizens, who, either from their own studious application, or from those public institutions which were open, in this City, to individuals of every class, had acquired the first principles of a good education, were eminently conspicuous for the foibles of speculative refinement. They had contracted the habit of expatiating on abstract subjects, and of making these, in their social circles, the constant topics of conversation. Every day gave birth to new systems, to unnatural jealousies, and exaggerated complaints against the magistrates; and these had not sufficient legal means

to suppress, or to restrain such dangerous discussions. On various occasions, after their political debates, the people ran to arms, and tranquillity was only to be re-established by the admission of such changes, or innovations, as were prejudicial to the authority of the state. However, the intestine commotions of Geneva had not, before the present period, been characterised by any strokes of cruelty. If, in the course of the five or six last revolutions, some individuals perished, they indeed perished, but were not assassinated by cowardly adversaries. Both parties had recourse to arms, and whoever fell, fell in the conflict. The crisis was always of short duration; and weeks of painful anxiety were succeeded by a general reconciliation of the citizens.

It is not difficult to point out the causes of such moderation in the midst of discord. The people still retained some regard for the laws of justice and morality. The majority of the Clergy enjoyed that influence which naturally arises from superior talents, and exemplary virtue; and even those who courted popularity, had not yet dared to maintain that liberty consisted in throwing down, and destroying all those barriers, which are so necessary to keep men within the pale of duty---in exposing an ignorant multitude to the  
seductive

seductive arts of the ambitious, or of enthusiasts ---and in making every class of citizens the slaves of a few Demagogues.

Recovered from their momentary errors the Genevese felt that they owed both gratitude and attachment to those Magistrates, who devoted themselves, without reserve, to promote the public prosperity.

If all circumstances were properly weighed, and considered, it might be said, that notwithstanding some inconveniences that arose from a Constitution too popular in its nature, the Genevese were happy; justice was administered with great exactness, without partiality, and almost without expence, and if we except those moments of tumult in which the authority of the Magistrates was either shackled or suspended, personal liberty was sufficiently protected.

There were many opulent families in Geneva; and there was, what there always is in all commercial towns, a very considerable number of Poor: but in no place were riches applied to better uses; the progress of luxury was restrained by many wise and sumptuary laws, and the Poor, who were never suffered to feel the extreme of poverty, were relieved  
with



with great humanity: notwithstanding the fifth part of the inhabitants of Geneva were relieved by public charity, that relief was so liberal, and so prudently distributed, that all the inhabitants seemed to foreigners, as being in an easy situation---not one beggar was to be seen among them.

In the year 1789, and subsequent to some popular commotions, the Laws by which the Republic had been governed since 1782, underwent certain modifications at Geneva, and with the almost unanimous consent of the Citizens. In making these modifications, the commonalty conducted themselves with great prudence and moderation; they did not alter or confound those powers, which preceding laws had distributed between the different orders of the state; they contented themselves with annulling only such parts of those laws, as had a relation to the military force, and, by which they thought themselves humiliated. These obnoxious parts or clauses, which the situation of Geneva in 1782, had rendered necessary in the opinion of the neighbouring powers guaranties of the constitution, were equally disagreeable to many Citizens who were zealously attached to the government, but who had not sufficient influence to prevent their being enacted; hence, there was no obstacle to their unanimity, with regard

gard to such changes or alterations, as were not incompatible with the happiness and tranquillity of the Republic. Its salutary effects were soon felt, a sincere reconciliation of all the Citizens, of every party, and of every class, effaced every vestige of the preceding mistrusts and jealousies; the authority of the Government, and the liberty of the Citizens, appeared to be both equally founded, on a solid and immoveable basis.

Such was the situation of Geneva, when, in 1790, the French revolution beginning to diffuse its contagious principles, certain individuals, attracted either by novelty, or impelled by enthusiasm; prompted by ambition, or stimulated by revenge, appeared to be discontented with those mild and wise laws, under which they lived, and began to propagate, that all sovereignty belonged to the People,---that there ought to be between all men, an absolute or perfect equality---that the will of the many, that is to say, of those who know how to seduce and to captivate the many, ought to be the supreme law---that the authority of the Magistrate ought to emanate from, and depend on their fluctuating and arbitrary pleasure, and be entirely subject to it. They were imprudent enough to divert the attention of the Artizans from their respective

pective trades and occupations, and make them employ that time, which was so precious and necessary for the support of their families, in discussions on political subjects, which they were not competent to understand. The consequence was, that numbers became immediately inflated with pride, and self-importance, and who in other circumstances, would have remained peaceable citizens.

It was no easy matter to resist such seductive arts: there are few men who, before they have been taught by a sad experience, have good sense enough to suspect their incapacity for political investigation---there are few men who are not fascinated with the charm of dominion! When once we have the temerity to strike out of the list of social duties, that of loyalty and respect for our Governors, many a poor individual, deceived by this false system, is carried away by the blind desire of obtaining power or of acquiring wealth; and he does not see that, in the general clashing of opposing interests, Fortune will declare for the most audacious Criminal; he does not see that, when arrived to power, he will be with regard to those who have failed to obtain any, in the same situation as the old Magistrate his predecessors; that is to say, he will inspire the same jealousy, without being entitled to the same respect, and he will  
soon



soon experience the same fate ; in short, he does not see that instead of gaining by such changes, one loses that little which he may have previously possessed, and though we should suppose him to escape with his life, he loses his liberty and repose.

In the beginning of this fermentation at Geneva, many respectable People were of opinion, that it was possible to convert it into a mean of promoting the general happiness, or at least, that it was possible to prevent its dangerous effects, they thought that when men were united and assembled to deliberate on their most important interests, the voice of reason and justice would alone be heard, but a few Club-meetings soon put an end to their most sanguine hopes ; they were now convinced that conscience alone is too weak a restraint ; too weak a barrier for the generality of mankind ; that if they are permitted to call in question, with impunity, their most sacred duties, there is not one of these duties but may be destroyed by the sophisms of abandoned wretches ; they saw that the object of each popular declaimer, in speaking of the sovereignty of the people, was only — to subjugate the rest, and to create himself followers, in order to make his own will pass for the sovereign will. They at length discovered that the many were made to be governed, and

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that

that all was lost from the moment that the many made the Government the subject of their deliberations, and ceased to respect their Magistrates; they heard the most extravagant propositions made in their presence, and they saw the ignorant crowd applaud, with transport those harangues which flattered their self-love, and which digged the very pit into which they were ready to fall. They saw a crowd of fanatick innovators adopt, without examination, stories the most absurd, and calumnies the most atrocious. The moderation of those reputable characters I allude to, was branded with cowardice; their principles of order, and of subordination with aristocracy. Finding that all their efforts were fruitless, and not till having been hissed and menaced, they retired from the public scene, to mourn in silence over the loss of their Country's Liberty, and the long train of evils that were ready to overwhelm her!

The great influence which the abettors of innovation had derived from the example and support of a neighbouring nation; the intimate connection that subsisted between the movements which they at that time excited, and the events that occurred in France, the desire in short of preserving the public tranquillity, and of preventing the commission of acts of violence, induced the different

ferent councils and departments of the State to consent in 1791, but with regret, and by a majority of some voices only, to the passing of laws, which, as they increased too much the influence of the people, could not promote the prosperity of the Republic; they were however considered to be the only possible means of diverting those evils, with which the Republic was threatened.

This proved a visionary expectation, they were deceived, the French army which was ordered to invade Savoy, was likewise ordered to make Geneva open to it her gates; and in October 1792, after having taken possession of all Savoy, without striking a blow, it presented itself before the City. The Republic, in virtue of its treaties, claimed, and obtained, as on former occasions, the assistance of its Allies, the cantons of Zurich and of Berne.

The memoirs published by General *Montesquion*, and by *Claviere*, (then Minister) shew, in a clear manner what the Government of Geneva had perceived, for several months before, from their tragical effects, viz.---the criminal projects and conspiracies of the latter against his native Country.



All know, that, after having been drawn, with great address, into a negociation, which could not but damp the spirit of resistance in the lesser states, at the moments when the armies that had penetrated into the heart of France, were obliged precipitately to retreat, Geneva, in order to avoid a siege, and the Swiss a war, which the majority in their councils would avoid at any rate, effectively renounced all the fruits of the Swiss alliance; and seeing that the Convention refused to ratify the treaty concluded with its General, they contented themselves with the bare and simple assurance that it gave them---viz---that the territory of Geneva should be respected.

The great body of the Citizens, who had so honourably distinguished themselves, while their Country was threatened with danger from without, and who, by their preparatory measures of defence, and the many proofs they gave of attachment and submission to their Magistrates, had raised the admiration, and affected the sensibility of the French General himself, did not consent to the departure of the Swiss Troops, but with hearts smitten with despair. They could not however refuse their assent since the wish of the Cantons to withdraw their troops was too clearly manifested.

In

In fact, the departure of the Swiss Troops was considered by the Partizans of the French, as an occasion of triumph, and the party, denominated the *party of equality*, lost no time in taking advantage of it.

Geneva, abandoned to herself, and a prey to the intrigues of some seditious leaders, the friends of Claviere, Geneva given up to the knavish policy of the liter, and of certain Parisian demagogues, still surrounded by the French army, and appall'd by a decree of the Convention, by which the French generals were ordered to assist and relieve all those who were oppressed by the neighbouring States, that is to say, all the seditious, and conspirators that implored its assistance---Geneva, in this extremity of her distress, underwent, in December 1792, a Revolution that effaced every vestige of her ancient laws; that admitted, without distinction, into the sovereignty of the general council \* (already rendered too general and indi-

\* The assembly of all such of the Commonalty as were of age, and had the qualifications acquired by law, was called at Geneva the General Council. It was convoked in order to approve or to reject by ballot, all propositions of new laws. But none of the voters could make any proposition of this kind, or make any speech on this occasion.

finite, in 1791) all the inhabitants of the territory of the Republic---that unhinzed, and disorganized the public voice, and tolerated, from its very commencement, every species of licentiousness and crime.

The Magistrates, convinced by repeated information, that the French would assist the faction within their walls, were they to attempt to reduce it by force, resolved that all resistance on their part would be vain; and flattered themselves that, by surrender, they should be able to prevent greater evils.

The General Council was to have been assembled, a few days after, to give its sanction to this edict; but the faction were alarmed, lest the proposition being made in the name of the magistrates should create a temporary good understanding between them and the mass of the people. They therefore preferred to seize by violence what the government was willing to grant them. In the night of the 4th of December 1792, they took up arms on a vain pretext, and their chiefs agreed with the military syndic to have the guard of the arsenals. The friends of government, who were far more numerous than the faction, might have prevented this event, if  
any



any participation had been given to them in time. Four or five hundred immediately armed themselves, and offered their service, hoping that an opportunity should be given to sacrifice their lives for the safety of their country. But instead of accepting, and directing their services towards this important object, the friends of government were employed, and for one night only, as patrols within the city; ordered to retire at home at five in the next morning, under the promise that every thing should be restored as before; but, from an apprehension that the faction would call in the French to their assistance, the whole public force of Geneva was surrendered the same morning at seven o'clock, by the magistrate who had the command of it, into the hands of the revolutionary party. The fear of future evils was lost in the sense of present danger; and the voice of those members of the different councils that reprobated the measure, was overpowered by the circumstances of the moment.

The triumphant party proclaimed an absolute equality between all the inhabitants of the territory of Geneva, and prevailed on the General Council to acknowledge and sanction it. They soon after were desirous of re-assembling the council,

cil, in order to divert the magistrates of their respective offices. But they had not yet sufficiently employed the means of intimidation. The General council, though at that time composed of the generality of the Genevefe within and without the city, refufed in this occafion to obey the mandates of thefe common difturbers of the peace. This mortifying difappointment only ferved to redouble the intrigues and threats of the faction; the magiftrates themfelves were eager to refign their employments, which were now rendered ufelefs by the furrender of the Arfenals, Artillery Ground, Gates, and Military Force, into their enemy's hands, and no longer oppofed the project of their fufpenfion. On the 28th of December a new and more tractable General Council was held, which annulled the great and little Council, and ratified the appointment of two committees newly created by the clubifts, and which were to have the conclufive adminiftration of the government.

Many of the citizens forefeeing from the period the impending evils, retired from their unhappy country, whilft many others dreading the inconveniencies attendant on emigration refolved to foften and to moderate the virulence of the faction, by means of fubmiffion and complaifance.

Among

Among the innovators of Geneva there were many who were only enthusiastically ambitious of command or of applause, and disapproved of massacres and pillages:---these individuals did not perceive the ignorant and ferocious crowd that stood behind them, habituated to licence, averse to labour, and who founded their hopes of impunity on the destruction of the laws, and government of their country. The individuals of the former class co-operated with the Citizens, friends of order, to have the committees tolerably well composed;---and soon after they co-operated with them in convoking a national assembly in the beginning of 1793, consisting of deputies, charged with the formation of a new Constitution.

It was also in the beginning of the same year that the principles of anarchy displayed their effects in a more alarming manner than they had hitherto done. Of what utility is a mild Government when a destructive theory permits every individual to honour his corrupt impulses and passions, with the name of rights of the people, and facilitates the means of levying open war against the state? A watchmaker of the name of Bourdillat, had his throat cut in his own house, after having courageously fought, and mortally wounded one of his Murderers. They were many in number---they



did not conceal themselves---they shewed themselves publickly---and neither the Government, nor any private individual undertook to punish them. Bourdillat, it is true, had killed one of the faction in 1791, with a bayonet, but the law of self-defence permitted him to make use of that weapon, against five or six men, who disturbed the public tranquillity, and who, stung with his reproaches, had attacked him with clubs.

The public was not much alarmed at the murder of Bourdillat, they considered it as the effect of private vengeance.

There are gradations in crimes. Before the perpetration of the most atrocious acts, the villain makes an experiment of his strength. In the course of the year 1793, men armed with clubs and bulls' pizzles, paraded at different times the streets of Geneva, and very roughly treated all those whom they suspected to be the friends of good order. In the hope that rigorous treatment and menaces would overcome the stubbornness of resistance, and incline the public to favour their views, the head of the faction laid hold of this opportunity, to order that a civic oath should be taken by all the Citizens, and by which every individual, was to engage himself to support the  
 Revolution

Revolution. A refusal however to take their oath, did not expose the persons to any pains or penalties. The great body of the commonalty of Geneva, notwithstanding the miserable situation to which they were reduced, refused to take it; and their refusal, (as long as they had the liberty of refusing) is an unanswerable argument, of their hearty aversion for the acts and principles of the Revolution.

Those who are continually preaching up the general will, and sovereignty of the People, take little or no pains to have them carried into execution. The greater part of them well know, that these are chimerical ideas; and they make use of them only to overturn established Governments, without caring to let the Citizens deliberate peaceably, and to secure to them the right of private judgment. The following maxim contained a complete analysis of their political principles-- viz.--- We wish to be free, that is to say, we wish to do whatever shall be agreeable to ourselves. We wish that others should be free, provided they think and act as we do: but whoever shall take it into his head to think otherwise, shall be punished with death. The Innovators of Geneva, ordered all the Inhabitants to believe in their pretended liberty, in like manner as Mahomet ordered all his followers to believe in the divinity of his mission.

sion. In the beginning of the year 1794, they were informed that the peasants, who inhabited the village of Jussy had no great partiality for them. Immediately two hundred, of the most zealous among them set out armed, in order to convert these poor peasants. The committees opposed at first their departure, but being now in the habit of trembling before a crowd of armed men, conscious at the same time, that they owed their own authority to means of the same kind, and not daring to expose themselves to the resentment of two hundred turbulent men, they finally resolved to send with them commissioners, who were, apparently, charged to watch over their conduct, and to restrain them. In passing through the village of Chene they met a cooper, who was busy at his trade :---He had on his head a white cap; they resolved to make him take a red one, and to make him sing one of their pretended civic songs. The cooper, who had been one of their most zealous disciples, but whom experience and an inward sense of probity had soon recovered from his error, refused to comply with their caprice, and asked them, with all the energy of a freeman, by virtue of what right they presumed to command him? His courageous and unshaken resolution cost him his life! He was killed by a musket shot in the presence of the Commissioners!

This



This poor man was massacred on the high road, in the name of Liberty, because he believed that he had a right to refuse to sing, and to wear a red cap. His assassins, after this exploit, continued their route, and on their arrival at Jussy, they went to the house of the Syndic Micheli: they fired upon him, and on his brother-in-law, ravaged the house, and made them both prisoners. They committed many acts of violence in the village, and levied contributions. They returned to Geneva with their two prisoners, who some time after were set at liberty. The punishment of the principal assassins and leaders in this banditti was far more scandalous than impunity itself---they suffered only a few months imprisonment!!

Some time previous to these events the National Assembly had drawn up a declaration of the rights of citizens, and formed a new constitution. In the former, among many maxims which were dangerous, either on account of their falsehood, or their obscure and metaphysical meaning, were to be found the truest principles on the subject of personal liberty; in the latter, many precautions were taken to protect innocence, when accused before the tribunals, and to limit the prerogatives of the General Council. Although the general council had been declared to be possessed exclusively

fively of the sovereign authority, it was however subjected by the new constitution, to the initiative of a legislative council, and its functions were restricted to the giving, or refusing its sanction to the new-proposed laws. The framers of this constitution, had at first proposed to establish universal toleration, in order the more easily to destroy every mode of religious worship: but the proposition was negatived by a great majority in the General Council. They were therefore obliged to establish it as a principle, that in order to be a Citizen of Geneva it was necessary to profess the protestant religion: Some of the ancient forms of procedure, in civil and criminal jurisprudence, and the denomination of the principal offices of magistracy were likewise preserved. In short, justice obliges me to say, that the new constitution contained all the prudential wisdom that was compatible with the corrupt basis on which it was founded. But then, the part that merited our approbation, was only a deceptive snare. It would not be reduced to practice. By maintaining and promulgating the principle of the sovereignty of the people, and enacting that all public offices were elective, and of limited duration, or not for life, the new constitution placed the magistrates in an humiliating situation, and made them dependent on the multitude: It opened

ed the door of the various departments of state to men without fortune, and without education, who, in order to gain admission, are at first eager to conciliate the partiality of Demagogues, and afterwards to obey them, in the hope of retaining their employments, or procuring new ones. By permitting the citizens of every class to form themselves into assemblies, or political clubs, and to discuss in them all sorts of topics, and to make what scrutiny they pleased into the conduct of the public offices, the constitution seemed to take the surest means to encourage plots and conspiracies, especially as it avowed the doctrine, that every thing was subject to the will of the people, that is to say, of the first crowd of madmen that usurped their name.

The constitution was accepted in the month of February 1794, but on account of the great number of Elections, that were necessary, it had no actual existence till the month of April following. From this time the anarchy of Geneva was at first characterized more by ridicule than by cruelty. The citizens had their national fetes and their pompous spectacles, and with these the populace were annexed. The secrecy of letters was violated, and men of probity were insulted with abusive language, the new  
Magistrates



Magistrates were without influence, and without authority ; ( they saw themselves sometimes baffled and treated with indignity by other revolutionary still more furious than themselves. One of the new Syndics, and some members of the council were treated one day in court by a counsel in his pleadings, as villains who deserved the severest punishment. But these inconveniences fell far short of what they might have apprehended---many emigrants deceived by this apparent calm returned to Geneva.

In the mean time, the minds of the lower orders of the people grew by degrees more and more corrupt. After having humbled, and enslaved the greater number of the men of property, they who had nothing beheld with envy the rich but defenceless possessions, that surrounded them. The facility of the acquisition served as a temptation to their rapacity ; but in order to attain their object, it was previously necessary to proscribè the rich, and yet more, the virtuous poor, who were restrained by their inward sùre of probity, from committing robbery and murder. In a word, an anarchy, as mild as it must have been, under the influence of the ancient manners of the Genevese, was fast approaching its end, and giving way to a ferocious tyranny. Those who are conversant in

History

History cannot but know that great popular commotions, raised and conducted on the principle of absolute equality, have always ended by concentrating the public force in the hands of tyrants.

Taxes, the most moderate and trifling, were sufficient to support the old administration. The salary of the magistrates was very small; their own private fortunes rendered them independent: and, in serving the public, the only recompence they sought was the honour that attached to their offices, and the inward satisfaction that arose from the sense of their being useful to their country. But the crowd of officers, created and employed by the new constitution, (and of whom the greater part had no paternal property, but had guilted their professions for the pleasure of commanding) were obliged to subsist at the public expence; and they became very burthensome to the state. It was then found necessary to impose new taxes. Those which had been at first proposed, had been rejected by the general council, on account of the manner, in which they were laid on. Another mode of assessment was drawn up, according to which the weight of the taxes was to fall only on the rich. These, thinking that they could not purchase their tranquillity at too dear a rate, were inclined to pay whatever was demanded. Their opposition, on  
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this occasion, was the ardent wish of their enemies. They would have made it a pretext for oppressing them. It is necessary to observe, that the most violent of the faction declaimed against the new edict, and maintained that, instead of laying on taxes, they ought to diminish the public expenditure. Doubtless, their object was to stimulate the men of property to oppose the edict, and 'tis possible they may have flattered themselves that, by joining their suffrages to those of the rich, the general council would have rejected the edict, and the rich might afterwards be made responsible for the rejection. However this may be, the declamations of the some factious were publicly denounced as the effects of the intrigues of the rich; and on the 17th of July, an advertisement put up in all the streets of the city, invited the pretended patriots to a rendez-vous, at the great club, in order, as it was said, *to counteract the cabal of the rich.*

The general council was to have met the 19th to take the edict into consideration. They would certainly have given it their sanction, notwithstanding the efforts of one part of the faction: besides, whatever had been the decision, they ought, consistently with their principles of the sovereignty of the people, to have waited for and submitted to it. Those who burned with impatience for an opportunity



tunity to plunder and to shed blood having weighed all these probabilities, resolved to prevent once more the meeting of the council, lest by the sanction of a tax on the rich, these should get in the class of the revolutionary moderates some friends and protectors. They therefore renewed their conspiracies; but their criminal intrigues were in part discovered. It was proposed in the council of administration on the 18th to beat the generale, and order the Citizens to take arms in support of public order but the majority of the administrative council negatived the proposition, because they knew that the greatest dangers were not intended for them, nor were they to encounter any in the discharge of their duty.

It was in the night between the 18th and 19th of July, that the conspiracy broke out in all its fury. On the sudden the conspirators took arms, made themselves masters of the City, rushed into Citizens' houses, dragged from their habitations in the midst of darkness innocent men;---men who had never injured them. Neither the cries of women nor of children; neither sickness nor old age could stop or moderate their rage; the unhappy prisoners were thrown together in heaps, during a

urning heat. I am not able to ascertain the exact number of the conspirators that acted this first and tragical scene, but it was not very considerable: they derived their strength from the suddenness of their exertion, and from the security in which lived all the honest Citizens.

At break of day there appeared a Proclamation, in the name of the Revolutionary Citizens, by which a committee of seven persons was invested with unlimited powers. Thus those pretended friends of Liberty, (after having burnt assunder all the bonds, that restrained their criminal passions) lay aside the mask without blushing, trample under their feet the very laws which they themselves had made, and the maxims which they had promulgate<sup>d</sup>. Their Constitution had declared that the Sovereignty belonged of right to the general council or assembly of all the Citizens; the Constitution had been accepted by a great majority of Suffrages; by it a legislative council was established to propose new laws; an administrative council to take care of the public safety, and by it courts were established for the administration of civil and criminal Justice;---the Constitution had declared that the house of a Citizen, was a retreat not to be violated, and that illegal force might be repelled by force; their declaration of rights had proscribed

proscribed in a manner still more energetic all arbitrary arrests, and all the assaults of despotism; and yet, without consulting the public will, without having recourse to the uninfluenced opinion of all the Citizens, a few factious men overturned with violence the new Government, made a mock at the pretended sovereignty of the people, and assume the reins of Tyranny.

It was but just that men who meditated the perpetration of the greatest crimes, and wished to increase the number of their accomplices, should proscribe the Christian Religion, that holy religion which consoles poverty, and condemns pride and ambition, which inspires us with the love of peace, and a horror of blood-shed. It is not therefore matter of surprise that the Ministers of the Gospel were arrested at Geneva,

On the 19th of July, all the friends of the Revolution, were ordered by a proclamation of the committee of seven, to appear armed in a certain place; and all those, who did not favour the Revolution, were ordered to give up their arms, and place them at the doors of their houses. Those, whose aversion for anarchy was well known, had no inclination to appear in this assembly: nor had they the most faint prospect of the possibility of resistance, since  
the



the factious were drawn up in array from the preceding evening, and were ready successively to overpower each individual that murmured discontent, or endeavoured to join the disaffected party. A Citizen who had, on various occasions, manifested his zeal in support of the public tranquillity, had courage enough to mingle in this revolutionary throng; he was recognized and made a prisoner. The peaceable Citizens submitted therefore once more, and suffered themselves to be disarmed. Had they had a presentiment of the fate that awaited them, and the least possibility of being rallied with few friends, despair would have impelled them to throw themselves on their ferocious enemies, and seek, by the sacrifice of some of them, a consolation in death.

The revolutionary band was considerably increased by the accession of those men too numerous in every country, and whose only rule of conduct in moments of civil broil is the apprehension of personal danger. These observe all occurrences in silence---are cautious of giving offence to any party, and are always ready to submit to the successful faction. These men were not driven away, because the faction could rely on them, as on servile dependants. Every moment was marked by an arrest of some of the Citizens.

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The members of the Constitutional Government hastened to shew the tractableness of their disposition, by appearing armed in those seditious ranks to which their own power had just fallen a prey: and even the despicable men who had lately assumed the name of *Syndics* were seen to mount guard as privates.

On Sunday the 20th of July, divine service was performed in one church only at Geneva. The minister, Mr. Peschier, was disposed to discharge the sacred duties of his office, but while in the pulpit, he received an order from the committee of seven, which obliged him to descend. He was immediately conveyed to prison, in the midst of the cries and tears of his christian flock, that was assembled to seek for religious consolation.

The seven dictators drew up an edict, by which a tribunal was created for the trial of the prisoners. The sentences of this tribunal, if they condemned a citizen to death, were to be ratified by the revolutionary citizens. By this edict was instituted at the same time, a military committee for the government of the state. They wished to have this edict, confirmed in an assembly of their partizans---and they took care to publish that they would vote aloud, with an audible voice, *as it became*, they said,  
*freemen*

*freemen to do.* The assembly was composed of three thousand armed men. The edict was accepted, and it must have been accepted, since the revolutionary alone could be present at this assembly, and since it was impossible for a citizen to give it his public negative, without exposing himself to a certain death.

Let no one say that these three thousand men formed the majority of the Genevese people; if the faction had succeeded in corrupting the majority of the inhabitants of the town and of the country, their success would have been astonishing, the dangerous effects of their doctrine would be alarming; but their conduct would only have been the more criminal; the morality and immorality of human actions is independent of the number of the agents: their nature is to be determined only by those eternal moral principles, which are engraven in all hearts (if not obliterated by the passions) and contained in the precepts of every religion. Justice is the unalienable right of every individual, and this would not have been the first time that we should have seen corruption arrived to such a height as to render a whole people criminal, of which the history furnishes many instances.

But,



But, in short, it is not true that the majority of the Genevese declared themselves in favour of these late atrocities.

If they had thought themselves obliged to consult the majority; if they had not been convinced that it would have opposed their views, would not the faction have observed the new constitutional forms which, on the demand of a certain number of citizens, obliged the Legislative Council to convoke the General Council? Would they not have waited for the issue of the deliberation of all the Genevese voting peaceably, and by ballot, uninfluenced by the presence of an armed force? Would they have taken the liberty of seizing all the arsenals, of making those persons who were able to enlighten the minds of the people, prisoners? How was the will of the people to be known, when a considerable part of the citizens were prevented from taking part in the deliberation, and others were rendered inactive by the fear of death?

The following events will clearly demonstrate, that the majority of the inhabitants were not in favour of the faction.

On the 23d of July, the tribunal entered on its functions. It resolved, that the examination should

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be public, but that the suffrages should be taken in private. The first victims that were offered it were the ancient Syndic *Cayla*, the ancient counsellor *Prévot-Cabanis*; the young advocate de *Rochemont*; the lieutenant colonel *Descombes*, formerly commander of the Garrison; *Chenaud*, *Meunier* and *Vivien*, all three watchmakers.

The ancient Syndic *Cayla* had, before the revolution, filled the different offices conferred on him with all the disinterestedness and probity which can be desired in a magistrate. He was possessed of the most refined and scrupulous delicacy, and distinguished no less by his private, than his public virtue. Before his losses in the French funds he was very rich, and every inhabitant of Geneva knows that more than half of his income was applied to the relief of the poor. The counsellor *Prévot-Cabanis*, during the disputes that arose between the magistrates and the commonalty, had distinguished himself in the party called the *Representans*; whatever opinion may be entertained of the political principles of this party, it is nevertheless true, that the intention of the leaders was to support the liberty of the citizens, without entertaining a wish to introduce licence. If the error of the faction of Geneva had originated in the love of liberty; if they had not been actuated by the vilest

vilest passions, they would have been grateful to the counsellor Prevot for his opposition to the *Negatifs*, and for the share he had in the reduction of the conciliatory laws of 1789. The lieutenant colonel *Descombes* had never offended any body; he obeyed the ancient magistrates whenever he received their orders, and both the law, and his oath obliged him to do so. The advocate *de Rochemont* was (with regard to talents and manly character) a young man of the greatest expectations. *Vivien*, *Chenaud*, and *Meunier* had spoken publicly, in the very beginning of the revolution, against the principles of anarchy. Not one of these unfortunate citizens had committed any other crime than that of shewing an active zeal in support of the public tranquillity, of hating injustice and tyranny, and discovering some symptoms of regret at the subversion of the government and laws: were we even to suppose that the revolutionary party exercised a lawful authority, the condemnation of these individuals even in that case would have been unjust; for, ever since the new Constitution had been established, their obedience was uniform and invariable.

The accusations brought against the seven victims which we have just now mentioned, did not involve any crime foreseen by the law, nor even the slightest infraction of any moral precept: they



consisted of vague charges of Aristocracy and opposition to Liberty, made in the rudest way and on a sudden by any man from every corner of the room, who did chuse to abuse these worthy sufferers; the only person against whom was brought a definite, precise charge, was Lieutenant Colonel *Descombes* who was accused of having made his soldiers fire on some of the insurgents in 1782; but was it criminal in him to obey the orders of those who had a right to command him? and besides, had it not been enacted under the sanction of the Sovereign Council at two different times, viz. in 1789 and in 1791, that no individual should be prosecuted for any of the anterior political acts?

The members of the tribunal charged to determine the fate of these unhappy gentlemen, after having heard their answers or defence, were on the point of retiring to give their suffrage in private: when they were immediately surrounded by the crowd, and commanded to vote publicly. This command was the same thing as to order them to condemn to death the seven prisoners. They did condemn in presence of the crowd Lieutenant Colonel *Descombes*, *Chenaud*, *Meunier* and *Vivien*. The lives of the other three they appeared inclined to save, but even these they sacrificed soon and without reluctance to the loud and piercing cries of the populace, excited by some head ring leaders

well

well known to the members of the revolutionary tribunal, and their best friends\*.

On Thursday the 24th, an assembly of the revolutionary mob was held, consisting of about three thousand persons. The object of this meeting was either to confirm the sentence of the tribunal, or to banish the condemned. The choice of these alternatives, which the heads of the faction had panted to their adherents or slaves, were to be determined by ballot. Capital punishment was once more decreed against Descombes, Chenaud, Meunier and Vivien. It was chiefly against the former that they had stirred up and incited the populace; it was likewise against him that there appeared the greatest number of votes. He was condemned to death by 1700 billets; these 1700 *Genevese* (denominating such all those who reputed strangers till now had been just admitted into a participation of the rights of citizens,) had been corrupted by the new doctrine to such a degree, as to forget all the principles of justice, and of humanity, and to demand coolly and deliberately the shedding

\* These new sort of judges sat in court in a dress of barbarous fashion. They had no coats on---they were *en Pantalons*. The neck and bosom were exposed---the beard long---the arms bare till above the elbow---they had a pistol at their waste and a sabre hanging in a belt---they were surrounded with bottles of wine and beer.

of human blood: but this number is far from making the majority of this republic; and it is evident that the other 1300 voters and all the citizens that were either imprisoned or kept from the assembly, by the violence and terror of the mob, may be reckoned in favor of lieutenant colonel Descombes: the number of these latter only (as appeared from the different trials subsequent to this date) amounted, at least, to 1000.

The voters, in this assembly, could not resolve on the death of the two ancient magistrates nor of the young de Rochemont. It was determined by a great majority that they should live: but this determination was no sooner known, than certain blood-thirsty monsters spread such terror and alarm by their ferocious cries, that the Military Committee and the Tribunal were so cowardly-mean as to order for execution those very individuals whose lives they had just saved. From an apprehension that the indignant public would attempt their rescue, they were put to death by torch-light about eleven o'clock in the evening. All the avenues were guarded with great care. They were shot, surrounded by a few of the enraged faction, and died with the greatest courage and heroic fortitude, \* consoled, no doubt, by the reflection that they  
ceased

\* The Syndic Cayla desired, as the only favour he had  
to



ceased to be men, when human nature was dishonored by so many monsters. Their murderers exulted with savage joy, over their last and dying sighs, and spent the remainder of the night in eating and drinking in the midst of the dead bodies\*.

The next day was a day of mourning; and notwithstanding the prohibition of a refined barbarity to *wear* any on this occasion, it evidently existed in the hearts of the greater part of the citizens.

to request of them, that his son, who was 16 years old, and who had been imprisoned with him, should be restored to his unhappy spouse.

\* It is observable that all the executions, except the two last, which were those of some private individuals less known than the other victims, took place at midnight. It was at this hour that the murderers dragged their victims from prison; fearing, no doubt, the effects of the friendship and compassion of the revolutionary populace for four worthy magistrates, and five citizens who were so generally respected and esteemed.

We must likewise observe that the garrison in the pay of Geneva, consisting partly of Genevese, and partly of Swiss and Savoyards who formed the ordinary guard at the City Gates, refused, at three different times, to fire on the condemned prisoners, and that these infamous executions were at least undertaken by about a 100 clubbists, having at their head even two of the judges of the revolutionary tribunal! A great number of the soldiers, belonging to the garrison were dismissed, for having not been so barbarous, and having declined to act as executioners.

The

The Military Committee and the Tribunal had the effrontery to publish a proclamation containing their excuse for having ordered three murders, in direct opposition to the will of the majority of voters. They ascribed the humane indulgence of this majority to the influence of false patriots, and pretended that the true patriots had demanded that the seven accused persons should be put to death. What was now become of the sovereignty of the people, and of the general will? By what right could a small number of the faction (even according to their own principles) arrogate to themselves the exclusive privilege of authority and of patriotism?

The Revolutionary leaders, in order to conciliate more and more the affections of the populace, were not sparing of the means of corruption. They gave a considerable salary to those who guarded the prisoners, and ordered bread to be distributed to the poor. They afterwards appointed a new Revolutionary Tribunal to go on with the trials of the prisoners, whose number exceeded five hundred. And that the pity or humanity of the people might not have an opportunity of creating them any obstacles in future, they resolved that the sentence of this Tribunal should be definitive and

and without appeal. Here follows the result of their infamous labours.

In addition to the preceding *seven*, *four* other sentences of death were pronounced and put to execution, *twenty-six* absent Gentlemen were condemned to death in Contumacy; *ninety-four* persons were condemned to perpetual banishment; *four* for a time limited; *ten* to perpetual imprisonment; *seven* for a time limited; *two hundred and sixty-four* confined in their own houses; and *eighty-nine* declared innocent. But all these sentences pronounced by the Tribunal against 508 persons in the space of *twelve days* did not seem to be enough. The Tribunal indeed was dissolved, but its dissolution was apparently only an act in conformity with the law that regulated the duration of its labours. A few days after, under a pretext equally vain with the former, new alarms were spread, and personal arrests recommenced in great number. The Tribunal then appeared again in the form of a National Commission, consisting of fifteen members, and erected, for the business of the moment, into a *Revolutionary Tribunal*. Its first case was to direct its power against certain chiefs of a party, called the *Party des Montagnards*, who disapproved of the Revolution of the 19 July, and who had been long in open war against the principal mem-



bers of the Constitutional Government, and of the Great Club. These were not without their fears, lest the party, "Des Montagnards," should direct their efforts to overturn, and wrest from them their usurped authority.

Following the example of other factions they resolved to be beforehand with their enemies, and condemned to death five of those *Montagnards*. These were immediately executed, and died like cowards; fifteen others were sentenced to be banished or imprisoned; deprived of their leaders the rest of this party were destitute of the means of hostility: They were no longer formidable, they were taken under the watchful guardianship of the Tribunal, and distributed among the Revolutionary Societies.

From this period the Tribunal has condemned *six* persons to death by contumacy, and has tried in ten days 366 other citizens, of whom 16 were condemned to perpetual banishment, and 350 to be confined for a longer or shorter space of time, and deprived of all their political rights.

Thus at two different times, more than 900 citizens, that is to say, a number equal to half of the lawful members of the General Council, underwent

underwent such sentences of condemnation as it pleased certain leaders or heads of party, supported by their hirelings of every class, to pronounce against them. This fact as well as many other demonstrate how few the partizans of the revolution were among the true Genevese, and how much the violence, terror, and the assistance of France were necessary to support it after an experiment of twenty months.

Of this we have a very striking acknowledgement in the arrêt or instrument by which the tyrants of Geneva established the revolutionary committees---“ Observe (say they) *that the number and unanimity of our enemies (the citizens)* “ *give them a formidable influence in the assemblies of the Sovereign (the General Council)* sufficient “ *indeed to prevent the sanction of such laws as are* “ *most favourable to the people. It is full time that* “ *the people organize its happiness---it is time,* “ *that having suppressed the Aristocracy of laws,* “ *that of names, of riches, and of morals be annihilated. The great business of the moment is to* “ *effectuate a revolution in our principles and morals,* “ *and to purify the very air of our country.” &c.*

The maxims of modern liberty are here fully exposed to view. They consist in stifling the

voice of those who are not willing to adopt them, however respectable on account of their number, and their right to a participation in the public administration. They consist in destroying *morality*; the morality of Old Geneva which was the basis of its happiness, its prosperity and celebrity; which gave a distinctive character of moderation to preceding popular tumults, tumults of which the source and the issue had scarce any analogy with these late events.

It may be observed, from the list of the murdered by the Tribunal's orders and of the proscribed, that neither inferiority of condition, nor mediocrity of fortune could afford protection against the tyrannic effects of the new principles. We therefore see that a great number of poor workmen and artisans as well as the ministers of religion, the magistrates and rich merchants, have been the victims of these modern systems.

Those who have been sentenced to be confined have been subjected to pecuniary impositions, which have not yet been all definitively ascertained and fixed; but which will be so, as soon as they shall have given in an estimate of their fortune. All proprietors, without distinction, have been ordered  
under



under the most severe pains to give an account of all their property wherever situated. The faction have annulled or broken all house leases, in order to have the habitations at their own disposal, and to fix the rent in such a manner as shall be most contributory to their own interest. They have made forceable entries into most houses to carry away the plate, jewels, &c. and lest any should have escaped their hands, all the citizens have been ordered to send their household plate to the mint. Besides these general public robberies, there have been committed many acts of private robbery and vexatious oppression. In a word, to affassination the factious have joined the excess of rapine.

This spirit of rapine and of plunder which, in its origin, appeared so very irregular, has assumed a more orderly character, and threatens to become every day more disastrous; the first financial operation of the Committee appointed to complete the spoliation of the men of property, has been to impose a general and extraordinary contribution, *the only means*, they said, *of saving the republic*; but which, in fact, is only a prelude to enormous annual taxes, which they intend to levy on all those who are not zealously attached to the Revolution.

The

The quantity of each individual contribution is determined by the shades of *incivisme* discernible in the conduct of different citizens, according to the arbitrary opinion of the members of this Committee ; among whom, it is worth while to remark there is hardly one proprietor. “ Thus all those citizens who *by actions or by words, or by a selfish inaction* (for these are the words of the resolution of the Committee) have shewn a spirit of indifference for, or opposition to the principles of equality and of liberty, and shall be ranked among the *Englués* or egotists, \* shall pay an extraordinary contribution, to be raised on the capital of their fortune. And the maximum of their contribution may extend to 30 per cent. on the capital, if the capital should exceed 12,000 livres (or 850 pounds sterling.)

“ Those who shall be declared to be in the class of *Aristocrats* may be taxed till 40 per cent. of their fortune, if it should exceed 12,000 livres.”

\* The Jacobin party at Geneva had for these three or four last years given the name of *Englués* to those who were of the middle rank of Citizens, and of that class of the People which supported government and its measures.

When

When the individual's fortune is under 850 pounds sterling, the tax on these two classes is even then very great for so small a capital.

The Committee declares at the same time that it will not receive in payment, any house in the city, or any landed property but at the half of its value.

We see here very clearly that the intention of the Committee was to oblige, if possible, all the proprietors whose fortune had not been confiscated\*, to draw from foreign funds the money they may have vested in them, in order to pay their vexatious contribution; and afterwards to oblige them to remain subject (by means of that property which is under the very hands of the public plunderers) to all the other taxes which these will think proper to impose.

By public plunderers I mean the provisional government which two years since overturned

\* The number of those whose property has been confiscated was pretty considerable as the greater part of the persons condemned to death and perpetual banishment, (two sentences involving confiscation) had been selected from among proprietors, it resulted from thence that the property goods and chattels of 153 Citizens (Geneva and its territory included) has been confiscated.



the lawful government, and to-day arrogates to itself the name of *Constitutional*---the principal clubbists, who are attached to this government from the hope of having their share of the legal plunder; and the mass of people in their pay who inhabit Geneva and its territory. These men, from no other view than that of retaining by all means their usurped power, gratifying their passions, and enriching themselves, did plan the sanguinary and oppressive measures of the 19th of July, which they carried coolly into execution, these men are the authors and perpetrators of all the murders and proscriptions that have since taken place. They had power, but they were at the end of the public money: it was necessary to have some, for how could they live without money, after having laid aside the habit of working, and taken up that of an idle, disorderly and expensive life? How was this multitude to subsist deprived of its ordinary resources? viz. commerce, industry, charity, and the best administered foundations in the world? They expended in three weeks (in August last) a sum equal to one year's revenue of the State; they have since then expended a great deal more.

The tyrants of Geneva, notwithstanding all their inquisitorial visits, were not able to discover in any of the houses of the gentlemen that were condemned,

demned, the least traces of a conspiracy against the new Constitutional Government. To attempt to re-establish the empire of law, might, without doubt, have been considered by all honest men as a very lawful enterprise ; but they were afraid to increase the public confusion, and to occasion new misfortunes. They therefore groaned in silence under the yoke that was imposed on them, and when the fury of the faction broke out, every thing was submission and obedience.

The authors of so many atrocities were not able to conceal from the eyes of foreigners the real motive of their conduct, which was that of stripping the proprietors of all their property. They saw that on this occasion it was impossible for them to invent calumnies against their victims, that had the semblance of probability. Nothing is more surprising than the ingenuous simplicity of the account given by the last revolutionary tribunal of its own nature and creation : “ We had not, (say they) “ for a basis any rule whatever, we had “ no particular law, we had no organization.” They afterwards declare, “ that they were obliged to begin “ by ascertaining what constituted *a crime*; and that “ they divided *crimes* into seven kinds or classes,” that is to say, they created crimes in order to inflict punishment. The first principle of personal

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liberty however is, that no one can be punished for an act which has not been prohibited by some anterior law. The pretended crimes, created and established by their retroactive resolution, and which they assure us served as the basis on which they founded their subsequent sentences of condemnation, are the efforts formerly made to have the government of Geneva guaranteed by many powers---the providing and taking up arms against the Patriots in preceding years---machinations to prevent the establishment of liberty and equality---stock-jobbing---manœuvres to engage the Swiss to break his alliance---and attempts made to corrupt the morals of the public.

These heads of accusation have, we see, a very extensive meaning, and made it easy for them to find criminals. Besides, they did not give themselves the trouble of requiring proofs, in order to declare that the prisoners were convicted. We likewise see that, after having overturned the old government, and reduced to slavery those whose interest it was to support it, they made it criminal in them not only to have spoken and acted in defence of the laws at the epoch of the last violent subversion of the government, but even all the political measures adopted for these last 14 years,  
and



and which had for their object the security of the public tranquillity, were imputed to them as crimes. Thus obedience alone will not satisfy the tyrants of our days. To escape the effects of their fury, it is not enough to have bound to their authority; you must never have made any effort to promote good order, you must have advanced to meet their chains without a murmur. It is not enough to be silent on the subject of their crimes: you must even applaud them.

Covered with blood and with plunder, they have the disgusting hypocrisy of talking (in every sentence of their publications) of *virtue*, of *justice*, of the *purity of public morals*, of *public happiness*, in order to confound in the minds of the multitude all the ideas of good and evil; and their prostitution of the most sacred terms, is at once the most dangerous of their seductive means, and the extreme of perverseness.

Those who suffered death after the first seven victims were :

1. The *Syndic Folio*, a respectable Magistrate, father of a family, and sixty years old. Before he was admitted into the Senate, he had served as  
Major

Major in Piedmont, where his Father was Colonel of a Swiss Regiment; his piety, his patriotism, and his uniform attention to all his duties, were highly exemplary, his courage was proof to every thing:---when arrived at the place of execution, he would not suffer a bandage to be put over his eyes; he pointed out to his murderers how they were to take aim at him, and from what a distance; but he was not able to prevail on them to make use of this precaution, he was mutilated by their barbarity and want of address, and in this miserable state, he observed to them with great composure, "I told you beforehand, that you were going to miss me," He waited, without emitting one sigh or complaint, till they had taken aim and fired a second time.

2. *Neville des Arts*, (Counsellor) zealous in the promotion of public good, and the interests of Justice; to a male virtue, he united many talents, and much acquired knowledge.

3. *Audeoud* (a merchant) one who had never meddled with politics. He was executed alone and by day light, he died with great composure, looking his executioners in the face; for he would not suffer his eyes to be covered.

*a. Delcluse*

4. *Delolme*, (a watchmaker) a man fired with indignation against the plunderers of the state. He bared his bosom to receive the assassins stroke--- crying out "strike! here is your victim!"

The Counsellor *Naville*, when brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal, addressed them in the most energetic manner, and the following sentences which are only a part of his eloquent and unprepared speech have been kept in the memory of some of the hearers who wrote them down afterwards: we lament that it was not possible in presence of the murderers who formed that iniquitous tribunal, to have the speech in its full length carefully taken in short hand.

"Who are you, (said he) that pretend to the right  
 "of sitting on this bench as my Judges? I see none  
 "here but usurpers. The greatest crime that can be  
 "committed against society, is to overturn by vio-  
 "lence a legal Government, that is to say, the law,  
 "under whose protection family connections have  
 "been formed and properly established and secured.  
 "Nothing can justify a Revolution productive of  
 "such tragical effects, but the experience of the  
 "last degree of oppression and despair. What mo-  
 "tive could you have had to destroy in 1792, the  
 "Government of Geneva? what other defect did you  
 find



“ find in it, than that of its being too weak and too  
 “ indulgent to those who seduced the people? You  
 “ will say perhaps that it militated against absolute  
 “ equality. No one respects more than I do the right  
 “ which all the Citizens equally have to personal safe-  
 “ ty, to personal liberty, to the enjoyment of their  
 “ property, that is, to all the advantages derivable  
 “ from a good Government. But how was it possible  
 “ for one to believe ~~that~~ all had an equal right to  
 “ govern, since the prosperity of a nation requires  
 “ that those who are intrusted with its administration,  
 “ should be men possessed of knowledge, of some  
 “ fortune and of a liberal education, and that the  
 “ choice of these men should not depend on the ca-  
 “ price of an ignorant multitude. Whatever state  
 “ does not contain a certain portion more or less, of  
 “ *aristocracy*, will be torn by anarchy, ’till at last  
 “ it falls a prey to Tyrants. After having destroyed  
 “ the lawful Government, after having suppressed  
 “ the old Magistrates, you enacted other laws, and  
 “ created other public offices, and you have just now  
 “ destroyed once more the established order of  
 “ things, to place yourselves in a Tribunal of pro-  
 “ scription, already stained with the blood of the in-  
 “ nocent. Will you maintain that you act in virtue  
 “ of the sovereignty of the people? I was never of  
 “ opinion that a people could be *sovereign*, but at two  
 “ periods of its existence; *first*, when it quits its  
 forests

“ forests in order to form itself into civil society;  
 “ *second*, when it has the misfortune to lose all  
 “ the springs of its Government, and has no longer  
 “ any legal depository of power. But when civil  
 “ society has been once established, the sove-  
 “ reignty of the people is a thing no less im-  
 “ possible than impracticable, and can only be  
 “ maintained by those ambitious men who wish  
 “ to intoxicate the crowd, in order to seduce, and  
 “ to enslave it, and afterwards to rule with an iron  
 “ sceptre. But in short, had you seriously con-  
 “ sidered the people as your sovereign, would  
 “ you not have had the precaution to convoke all  
 “ the Inhabitants of the territory of the Republic,  
 “ without distinction of party or of opinion? would  
 “ you not have removed ~~far~~ from their assembly  
 “ every means of intimidation inconsistent with the  
 “ freedom of their deliberation? Ah! were you the  
 “ real organs of the will of the people, I should be  
 “ ready to condemn myself for having been so un-  
 “ fortunate as to incur the displeasure of the majo-  
 “ rity of my fellow Citizens. But if they were free,  
 “ and my conscience assures me that I am right,  
 “ the greater part of them would come here, and  
 “ give evidence that I have always been zealous  
 “ to promote their happiness.

“ I will

“ I will not debase myself so far as to wish to en-  
 “ gage your pity. I know that I am to die ; it is  
 “ already determined. I have too great a detesta-  
 “ tion of injustice not to expect the sorrowful but  
 “ honourable fate of those magistrates whom you  
 “ have already put to death : but to shew all  
 “ Europe the great iniquity of your sentence, I  
 “ declare before God that, after the subversion  
 “ of the old government, I have lived retired  
 “ from the world ; that, convinced of the inutility  
 “ of my efforts to re-establish the empire of law-  
 “ ful authority, I have continued obedient to those  
 “ laws which you have made : that I did not attempt  
 “ to counteract your projects ; and that, concen-  
 “ trating within myself a sort of liberty that you  
 “ were not able to deprive me of, I have born the  
 “ slavery that you imposed on me, obliged to  
 “ behold, without murmuring, crime triumph with  
 “ impunity. The reflection that in a short time,  
 “ I shall see it no more, mitigates the bitterness  
 “ of my affliction at parting from my wife and  
 “ children. Their fate is in the hands of Provi-  
 “ dence ; but whatever it shall be, they will, at  
 “ least, never have reason to be ashamed that they  
 “ were mine.

“ Another consolatory reflection presents itself to  
 “ my mind. The fate which one of the happiest  
 cities



“ cities of Europe has undergone will demonstrate  
 “ more and more the destructive consequences of  
 “ that doctrine to which I am going to be sacri-  
 “ ficed: there are yet philosophers in many coun-  
 “ tries, intoxicated with the vainest speculations,  
 “ and, above all, with the desire of rising to the  
 “ first employments by means of effectuating  
 “ great changes in the state; who fondly indulge  
 “ the chimerical ideas of political equality and the  
 “ sovereignty of the people, who ascribe the de-  
 “ structive but necessary effects of this false system  
 “ to the moral depravation of individual character  
 “ under the empire of kings and of nobles. These  
 “ philosophers will for the future know, that in a  
 “ city where there were neither kings nor nobles,  
 “ and which they formerly considered as the freest  
 “ in the world, that in a city justly celebrated for  
 “ science, and the purity of the morals of its inha-  
 “ bitants, their favourite maxims have occasioned  
 “ the greatest enormities: they will know that their  
 “ system cannot be carried into execution in a re-  
 “ public of thirty-five thousand souls, and that ab-  
 “ solute democracy is even impossible in a small  
 “ city.”

When he was delivered into the hands of his ex-  
 ecutioners, he added, raising his voice, “ I an-  
 nounce to you the fate that awaits you and  
 H your

“ your accomplices ; enriched by plunder, and be-  
 “ come the absolute masters of the state---expect  
 “ not to enjoy in peace the fruit of your crimes. All  
 “ the bonds which you have burst asunder to arrive  
 “ at despotism, will be also destroyed, and rendered  
 “ useless for your own security. New factions will  
 “ arise in your own bosom, and you will struggle  
 “ together for dominion. You united only like ty-  
 “ gers to catch your prey, but, like them, you will  
 “ tear one another to devour it. Thus you will  
 “ yourselves avenge the manes of your victims. They  
 “ indeed shall have had in dying the consolations of  
 “ a pure conscience, which raise the soul to its Crea-  
 “ tor ; whereas you shall die with rage in your hearts :  
 “ the most dreadful apprehensions will be the fore-  
 “ runners of your punishment ; you will be filled with  
 “ despair for having stained yourselves with innocent  
 “ blood, and for falling into the abyss which your-  
 “ selves shall have digged with your own hands, nor  
 “ will you dare then lift up your eyes to heaven !”

Such was partly the eloquent address of the virtuous  
*Naville*\*. We may well conceive that he was fre-  
 quently

\* To great powers of mind this magistrate (aged 42) united  
 uncommon talents. From his youth he was capable of unre-  
 mitted application. He loved society, and especially that of  
 the well-informed, as a recreation, for he did not indulge him-  
 self

quently interrupted by murmurs and by menaces, however his inflexible courage and the amazing power of his voice furnished him with means of obtaining a hearing for these great and important truths,

self with other sort of dissipation. He finished an excellent course of study in the most happy and brilliant manner. Having, for these last ten years, filled very important offices in the magistracy, and in times the most critical, he always discharged their respective duties with an exactitude the most scrupulous, a vigilance the most active, and knowledge the most profound. For these qualities he was sought and consulted every day by his fellow-citizens on their own private affairs. His intervals of leisure, and which arose from his remarkable love of order, and happy facility in the dispatch of business, were dedicated to researches in jurisprudence, useful to his country. To his indefatigable assiduity, and great partiality for Geneva we are indebted for a work valuable to his fellow-citizens, and interesting to all men of candour and reflection, a work in which he analyzes the spirit of the laws of his country, and demonstrates, in a manner not difficult to be followed, how the little republic of Geneva has found the secret of realizing or substantiating an idea, which one would have thought to have been the produce only of the golden age, namely that of forming magistrates at once enlightened, upright, and incorruptible, and who breathed (if I may so speak) into all the lawyers that came within the circle of their influence, the same spirit of integrity and disinterestedness. This work is entitled *Droit civil de Geneva*, (the Civil Law of Geneva.) It was printed in 1790, in 1 vol. 8vo.—The second part was almost finished when the first volume appeared, but the author was prevented by the circum-



truths, but they were truths that could gain no admission into minds so obdurate and corrupt. May they be well attended to by foreigners ! may all Governments become daily more and more sensible

stances of the times from publishing it before his death, and it is not yet known whether that manuscript, and many others by the same author, have escaped the hands of the plunderers by whom Geneva is at present subjugated. The labours of Mr. Naville were facilitated by his memory, which was amazingly retentive ; and his judicious travels, especially in Italy at the same time that they contributed to perfect his natural taste for the fine arts, had furnished his mind, always eager after information, with inexhaustible subjects of meditation. Agriculture and botany were his favourite amusements at his country seat near Geneva. His conversation, accompanied by the amiable manners of a man of the world, was both useful and interesting to people of every class and of every age. A character strongly marked, and supported through life with manly fortitude, great eloquence, an unblemished virtue and zeal for the public good, were qualities that attached to Mr. Naville all the Genevese that loved their country, and were witnesses of his useful labours. He possessed likewise the friendship and esteem of all foreigners that knew him, and especially of some English gentlemen of great merit ; in short, every thing contributed to give the public great hopes of a man, who from the first step he had made, was continuing to advance with such success in the walks of politics and of letters, when, at midnight, he was hurried away, from his retirement, by sanguinary demons, and for ever separated from his wife and four children.

The following circumstance which happened at the trial of Counsellor Naville will enable us to form some idea of the man-

sensible of the necessity of adding severity to justice, of redoubling their zeal to protect personal liberty, and to alleviate the distresses of those that are obedient to the laws, but to shew no pity to those that disturb the public tranquillity.

The

ner in which the prisoners were tried and condemned by the tribunal of assassins at Geneva. As soon as Mr. Naville appeared one of the judges got up, and drawing his sword, exclaimed, "I condemn thee to death." Mr. Naville observed, that a judge who made such a declaration ought to be set aside, But what little attention was at that time paid to the most sacred laws and regulations! The judge who first delivered his opinion in the tribunal expressed himself in the following terms-- "Naville is a perfectly honest man; of consummate merit, and "virtue. I believe that he is as innocent as myself---but the "nation thirsts for blood. Politicians have two consciences---I "condemn him to death." The judges were divided in opinion, and the number of voters were equal when the secretary of the tribunal, who had counted the votes, and who had the casting voice, gave his against the prisoner. This secretary was a young man of the most factious disposition, and, in all respects, of the most depraved morals. Of late years, he had often exposed himself to the animadversions of the government, and Mr. Naville, as Attorney General, had been obliged by his office, to take cognizance of his conduct on these occasions, but he always treated him with too much mildness. This abject wretch was not, on that account, the less stimulated by resentment. Having now, by a strange series of events, become his judge, he was in fact his executioner.

We will here subjoin two other instances to shew the judiciary forms observed by this iniquitous tribunal.

A maid

The errors that lead to the commission of crimes should not however be confounded with crimes themselves. When a man is known to have been led astray by these new systems, let not honest men  
too

A maid shopkeeper of the name of *Duby*, aged about 50, was condemned to be imprisoned for a *hundred years*, "*dans une Maison de Force*"---for the services she rendered to the French Emigrants, and for having spoken too freely of the Revolution of Geneva.

A young man aged 24 was sentenced to be imprisoned for one year, for having signed the act of Guarantee in 1782. He was then only 12 years old, and the signature was his grandfather's.

Here follows the exact form of the sentences pronounced by these sanguinary men, who aped the conduct of the French revolutionists against those prisoners that were arraigned at their bar under the denomination of *Aristocrates*, and *Englués*, (that is, persons attached to aristocrates.)

*Sentence against Aristocrates.*

" You thought yourselves to be of a privileged order. You imagined that the people were nothing, and yourselves every thing. By acting agreeably to these principles, you shewed yourselves to be the enemies of equality and of liberty. The people have resumed their sacred and inalienable rights, and it is not just that you should be admitted into a participation of them; since you have always opposed the interests of the people, and that they cannot entertain any hopes of your repentance. For these reasons, and for the public safety, the revolutionary  
tribunal



too precipitately give way to a spirit of resentment ; let them rather endeavour to reclaim him by their admonitions, their remonstrances, and the laws of justice. Let philosophers who are carried away by enthusiasm, at length learn wisdom from the cruel experience of Geneva, and nobly confess that they were deceived ; their fault is not to be imputed so much to themselves as to the perverseness of human kind, of whose magnitude and extent they had no just conception. Let all those, whom too sanguine hopes, or too enabled ideas of human nature have led into error, find in the esteem of their fellow citizens the reward due to the purity of the motives that seduced them. The wicked, whom no considerations can divest from prosecu-

tribunal decrees that you should be for ever deprived of the actual enjoyment of your political rights, and be confined to your own houses for the space of one year."

*Sentence against les Englués, or persons attached to Aristocrates.*

" You were born in the class of the people. Let those among you that have gone out of it through pride, return into it again, and endeavour to behave themselves well for the future. Let those among you that have defended their rights with lukewarmness or indifference know that their indifference is reprehensible---Attach yourselves in future to those who are not afraid to expose their lives in defence of equality and of liberty. You are all of you sentenced to six months (or one year's) imprisonment in your own houses.

ting

ting their criminal cases, and who have already committed crimes in their hearts, must be alone the objects of hatred. Let the rich administer relief to the poor, lay aside the luxury, and give to the whole community an example of good morals. Let the poor be aware that if they suffer themselves to be seduced by innovators in hopes of meliorating their condition, a great part of them will become more miserable---that what they shall acquire by robbery will deprive them of all peace of mind, and lead them on from one crime to another---that, under the protection of the law, they ought to have recourse to industrious means, and to honest labour---that if they do not respect the property of individuals, other robbers will not respect what they shall have stolen or usurped---that in such a case Society will be an assemblage of violence, rapine and assassination, and no Citizen will be able to sleep in peace. In a word, let all men of property, and of probity, whatever may be their fortune or condition in life, have a lively sense of the dangers that threaten them, and let them unite their efforts to preserve their country from those calamities to which Geneva will be long a prey.

POSTSCRIPT.

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## P O S T S C R I P T.

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IF in the preceding publication we have not pointed out all the various ways by which the revolution of Geneva was affected by the influence of France, and if we have not entered into a minute investigation of the active interference of different members of the French executive council and national assemblies to overturn its government, from *Clavière*, *Brissot*, *Hérault de Séchelles* down to *St. Just* and *Robespierre*, it was not for want of materials, or that we were not in possession of facts which unfortunately are but too well founded, and of which the substantial proofs exist at this very day; but we followed the plan to confine ourselves to a plain narrative of those events that occurred within the city of Geneva, and to such general reflections as naturally arose from them, with

I

regard



regard to the gradual progress of vice and criminality in every state so soon as it is subjugated by a factious minority of its inhabitants, and led on by their temerity and their wickedness into the revolutionary torrent.

The intrigues of *Chateauneuf*, the French resident at Geneva in 1792, prepared the way for the subversion of the lawful government towards the latter end of the same year. The manœuvres of his successor, *Soulavie*, during 18 months, his dark intrigues and conspiracies, the bribes that he distributed among the people, and his zeal in encouraging the perpetration of the atrocities of the 19th July, and the following days, all these circumstances would have extended the narrative beyond the proposed limits of this publication; and they would not, perhaps, have been considered as sufficiently interesting in this country to engage attention.

We shall therefore only observe that the following fact affords palpable evidence of the influence of French principles on the administration of Geneva. Immediately on the fall of *Robespierre*, which happened a few days subsequent to those bloody scenes prepared by *Soulavie* and his adherents at Geneva, the National Convention, now directed by the moderate party, signified its disapprobation

probation of the horrors recently committed, recalled Soulavie, and appointed him a successor, who soon gave proofs of his inward probity and good intentions.\* He, as well as the French ambassador in Switzerland, were ordered by the Convention to remonstrate in strong language with the leaders of the prevailing party on the cruelty of their measures, as not appearing to them to be justified by the necessity of the moment. The National Convention, it seems, was apprehensive, lest the neighbouring people should, on account of so many atrocities, conceive some disgust for a revolution, which it was their wish to render palatable to them. And this was, in fact, the effect produced by these atrocities in Switzerland.

Thus from the above epoch, that is, from the fall of Robespierre, the streets of Geneva were no longer stained with human blood. Even the heads of the prevailing party were publicly characterised by their own followers as the *agents of Robespierre*, and violently reproached with having, without

\* One Mr. *Adet*, formerly a chymist, and who was nominated last December by the Convention their minister to the united states of America. He has been succeeded at Geneva by one Mr. *Des Portes*, formerly a *Muscadin*, and who as such had been imprisoned for several months in Paris during the reign of *Robespierre*.

proof, shed innocent blood. By means of bribes they silenced indeed the murmurs of the populace, but they, at the same time perceived, that they should no longer be supported by the people, unless they adopted a more moderate system. They have therefore confined their operations since that time, to fiscal measures, and the levying of exorbitant taxes on all those who are denominated *aristocrates*. The produce of these taxes is absolutely necessary to the preservation of their authority, which depends on their ability to pay their adherents, and to enable them to live without labour. Those individuals that were possessed only of houses and other immoveables at Geneva, and from which the faction could derive no pecuniary advantages, at a time when nobody would purchase or rent such property, are redeemed, even at this day, for some ready money from the confiscation pronounced against them in August and September last. In a word, they endeavour, as they do in France, to recal the merchants, and to revive industry and commerce. Without these they well know, that even their own partizans when deprived of every necessary will shew them no mercy, but will treat them as the accursed authors of their poverty and of all the calamities public and private with which Geneva has been afflicted.

We



We should be strangely deceived indeed, were we to ascribe the present cessation of atrocities in Geneva to any sentiment of contrition experienced by the heads of the revolutionary party, or to any beneficial change in their moral or political principles. Were the Jacobin party once more to raise its head in France, the same crimes should be perpetrated with the same coolness by the same Clubbists, and we should see those contemptible characters that compose the present constitutional government favour them with the same impunity.

Deplorable effect of a series of fatal circumstances under which Geneva has laboured since 1791! which have crushed the endeavours of her most worthy magistrates, and reduced to a state of inaction all the good citizens of a republic once so flourishing!---which have transferred into the hands of a depraved faction all the power with the disposal of the public and private property,---and which have bound Geneva to France (as it exists at present) and to France alone, in such a manner, that she must sympathize with her in every condition, must undergo the same ills, the same convulsions, the same languor, the same agony, without having any of the resources of this great state, or being able, for many years to participate in those favourable chances which fortune, in the opinion of some, seems to offer to the French republic!

Some of the facts related in this publication have been mentioned in a pamphlet under the title of "The French Revolution at Geneva"; but the Author having followed another plan did not trace their connection with those events that preceded them for these last three or four years, nor did accompany them with such observations as are necessary to enable the Reader to judge of the great difference that subsists between the late occurrences and the anterior civil commotions that agitated Geneva. The Pamphlet above alluded to, is written in a different language from this, and though it contains many wise and prudent reflections, it is in some respects incorrect. But this incorrectness is undoubtedly to be ascribed to the following circumstance, namely, that with regard to some anterior circumstances that he relates, the Author was not in a situation to judge by himself.

1. For instance, it is a mistake to think that the liberty of the Genevese, which was renovated in 1789, *had been consolidated by the laws of 1791*, since it is evident that it was in 1790, when certain Citizens, who had no participation in the legislation of 1789, proposed a new one, and formed a party, it was then that the public were divided in opinion, and that the fatal measure was adopted  
of

of extending the right of Citizenship to a very considerable number of men, who, till then, had been considered as a distinct class from the Citizens of Geneva: it was then likewise that the powers of the General Council were increased. The maxims that were at that time advanced and developed by the authors of these innovations, did wonderfully facilitate the progress of the principles of equality of every kind. If the liberty of Geneva had been consolidated in 1791, the perfect *unanimity* that had reigned in 1789 would not have been so much impaired as that the political edict should not have been carried in the General Council (consisting of 1500 voters) but by a very small majority---and the military edict by a smaller one (of 30 or 40). Both of them were the work of the same hand and without the means of all sort used to create again a discontented party, neither of them should have obtained the majority of votes in the General Council.

2. It was impossible (as it is asserted by the author of the pamphlet above mentioned) that the usurping and revolutionary government which had established itself in December 1792, could have enjoyed any degree of *credit, or consideration*; or that any enlightened man could have flattered himself with the hope of *enjoying under its wing the benefits*  
*of*



*of a well regulated police, protection, and safety;* because it had been from its very formation, subject to the influence of a detestable club that dictated all its measures. Hence it was that this pretended constitutional administration, which consisted of persons generally reputed fanatics or blasted characters, was distinguished by violence done to men's persons with clubs or bludgeons, by harassing or vexatious treatments, by forcible entries into Citizens' houses, and by assassinations which met with impunity, though the assassins were well known. The scandalous iniquity of this administration disgusted successively all those Citizens who, from good but circumscribed views, had at first yielded themselves to become members of it, as well as of the assembly called *Nationale*, which was an insipid apish imitation of that of France; so that at last none remained in this government but men void of principles and who were disposed to countenance the perpetration of all crimes, as in fact they did from the 19th of July, in order to preserve their own existence and lucrative places.

3. It looks rather strange that the author of the Pamphlet in question, should think he pronounces the eulogy of Mr. Reybaz the Genevese Minister to the French Republic, by saying that *Mr. Reybaz is much considered and respected at Paris,*  
when

when we all know what kind of persons they are who form and direct the public opinion in that city.

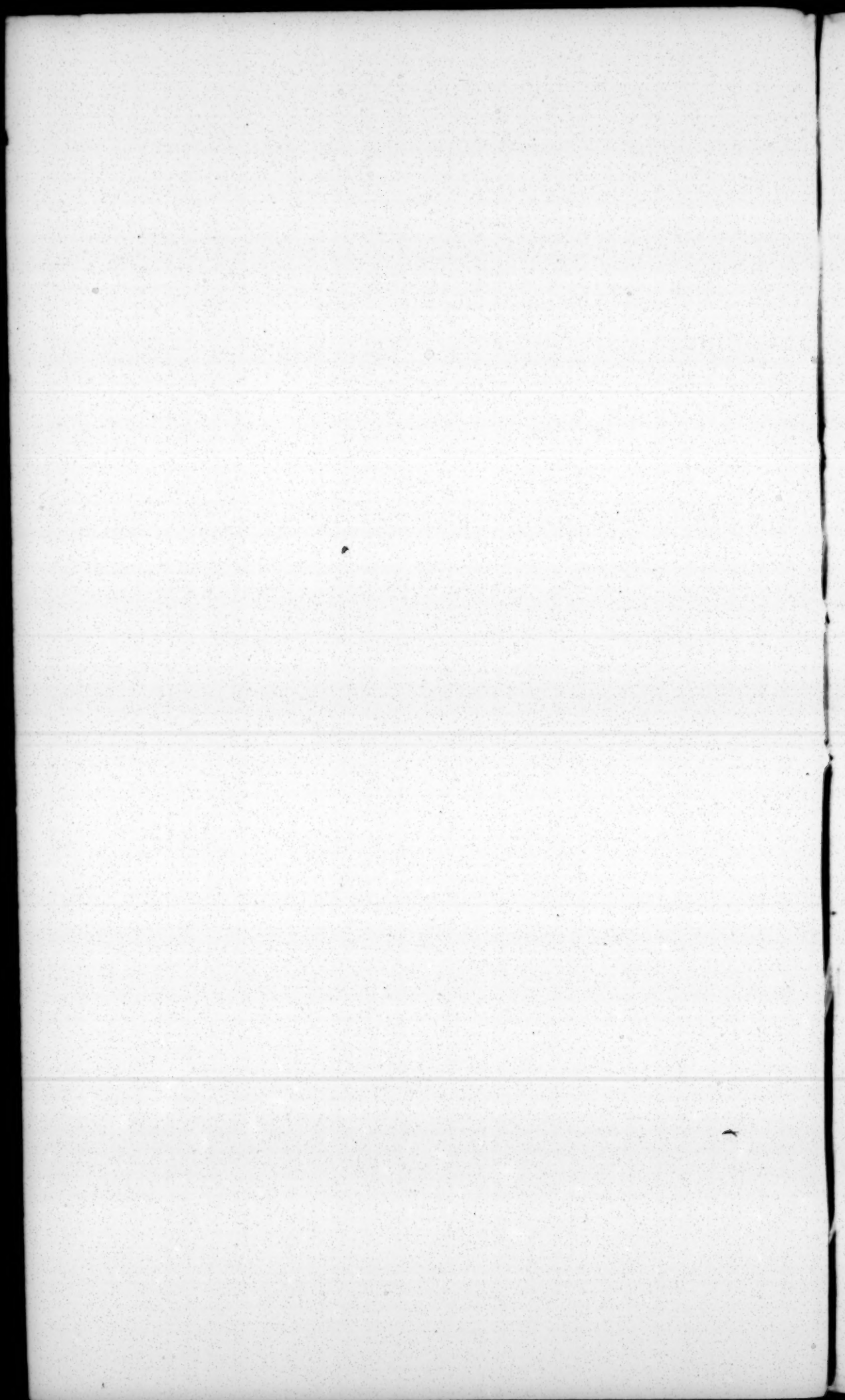
One would be tempted to take this compliment for a satyrical remark, were it not accompanied by certain expressions which shew that the Author speaks seriously. It is far from our intention to enter into a discussion on the degree of merit possessed by Mr. Reybaz, formerly a protestant clergyman, native of a village in the Pays de Vaud---But in allowing what justice and truth put us to say, that on various occasions he has been serviceable to some individuals, we shall only observe, that in his political capacity he has shewn more suppleness and versality than consistency or energy of character. He was, from the very beginning a partizan of the revolution in France, and during the session of the first assembly, he exerted himself in favour of *Mirabeau*. He afterwards supported his old and intimate friend *Clavière*, as well as the *Brissotine Party*, till the moment that he foresaw its fall. At this period he sought an asylum in London, and soon after returned to Paris, to be, as it should seem an advocate for the independence of Geneva, indulging, without doubt, the hopes of safety, from the consciousness he had of his services in the cause of the revolution both at home and abroad. His hopes were well founded,

founded, he was left unmolested. From that time he has been nominated by the leaders of the party that triumphed in 1792, their minister near the French Republic. During the reign of Robespierre he conducted himself with fear and trembling, and at his death he discovered his excessive joy by giving his successors the fraternal kiss, and by haranguing them in the most emphatic and mellifluous manner. He imagined that there was something great and noble in being near the Convention of France---the representative of a State that had just degraded itself by the commission of all those atrocious acts that had stained the French revolution, and in pronouncing the eulogy of the Government of Geneva, eight days after it had tolerated the murder of eleven of its ancient magistrates and fellow-citizens; and whilst the blood of counsellor *Prevost*, his own nephew, formerly his ward and almost adopted son, was not yet cold. If we admire the address and indefatigable ambition displayed in such a conduct, we must at least acknowledge that it discovers no sensibility or solidity of principles. The above characteristics are sufficient to shew that the true apostles of the revolution, inflated with pride and with vanity, the worthy disciples of Abbé *Sieyès*, have not the least scruple or delicacy as to the choice of the means or the friends that they employ, and that, actuated  
by



by their grand object, viz. the destruction of all distinction between men, but that which arises from what they call *genius*, they can look with indifference on the general calamity, and on the murder of their relatives and apparently their most intimate friends, from the selfish hope that they shall survive the catastrophe, and astonish the world with the display of their rare talents for universal empire.





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